1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

believe in them. Some of the more intelligent or more civilized of the Indians, those who have been most in contact with foreigners, take foreign medicines when sick, but they are the exceptions. Their method of purifying an unclean person has already been described under the heads of child-birth and uncleanness. They also claim to bring or drive away rain. To do this, the doctor must have a pipe full of tobacco, or a cigar. He goes into the open air, smokes, blows the smoke in certain directions, calling out in an imperative tone of voice, "Rain, go to—" whatever place he may see fit to designate. Once when prisoners between two swollen rivers, forced to wait for them to fall low enough for us to ford; one of our few means of amusement was to give one of these fellows, in our suite, a pipe full of tobacco, and set him to clearing up the weather. He would go outside of our little hut, and between the puffs of smoke would call out, "Rain, go to Panama," "go to Chiriqui," "go to Cartago," in short, to every remote place of which he happened to know the name. It took him ten days before his efforts were crowned with success, and when ultimately the blue patches did begin to appear in the sky, he had the effrontery to calmly claim it as his doing! They also claim to "blow" a proposed route of travel, so as to drive away snakes and bring good luck on the route. In this case, the *modus operandi* is practically the same as for the weather. But their master efforts are when charming away sickness. To see the process, two of my companions feigned sickness and called in the services of one the doctors. He caused each one to procure a live chicken. Catching the animal by the neck and heels he made passes all over the body of the patient, in every direction. Any small animal will answer. Sloths, opossums, even young alligators are used, and are said to be equally efficacious.

After some minutes of this manipulation, he lighted a pipe and blew tobacco-smoke at them. Having given them numerous injunctions about diet, such as forbidding the use of coffee, tobacco, pepper, and salt, for a day or two, he went outside the house, and spent half the night seated under an orange tree, singing a doleful ditty, enlivened at irregular periods by unearthly howls and groans. His fee for all this was, in addition to the two fowls, used in the ceremony, and which was all he would have received from an Indian, sixty cents from one and forty from the other; the fees being graduated by the gravity of the supposed infirmities. These doctors claim that their powers are based on the magic merits of certain charms they carry about with them. These charms are supposed to be calculi, extracted from the viscera of animals. Our friend, who tried to change the weather, possessed three of these. One purported to be from the liver of a sloth, another from the bladder of some other animal, &c. I examined them with a glass, and am convinced that they were mere fragments of little calcareous veins, common in the metamorphic rocks of the country, and which had been ground smooth by friction. My little knowledge of medicine, and a moderately well-supplied medicine-case, enabled me to make numerous cures, and of course I soon

287 and the *mastate blanco* tree which grows there. In view of the fact that it is frequently acquired from the neighboring *Cavagra* or *Cabécares* (see p. 24), it is quite probable that the *mastate* is used, not only in place of blankets, but also as loin cloth by the women. *Mastate* can be made from two trees. One tree is the *mastate blanco*, or white *mastate*, which the *Boruca* prefer, and which, as we have seen, grows on the coast. The other tree is found in the interior, and is known as *mastate colorado*, or red *mastate* (*Brosimum utila* [HBK] Pittier). It is the tree still used by the *Cavagra* for making bark cloth, but apparently was not utilized by the *Boruca* unless it was absolutely necessary. Both trees have a milk, but [272] that of the red *mastate* is sometimes used for drinking, while that of the white is never taken. To make the cloth, a piece of bark is cut off and rolled at right angles to the grain, then beaten with a wooden stick to take off the rough outer surface, after which it is beaten with another club whose surface is grooved. It is then soaked in water and pulled to the desired size and put in the sun to dry, having pieces of wood or stone placed on the outer edges to keep the cloth from contracting.

321 **Bone Objects.** The use of bone amongst the *Boruca* is rather curious. It is the material employed almost generally for spindle whorls, and always for the needle-like pieces which are the temple, and are used to pin the woven cloth already on the loom so that it does not lose its shape while the rest is being made. Furthermore, the thigh bones of wild turkey and fowl are used to connect the hammock with the extra rope from which it hangs. Similar bones serve as handles for the *maracas* (see [155] fig. 10, *c*, *d*). Bone is also used for certain cures, for example, if a baby has dysentery, bone and garlic bracelets are put on its wrists.

415 [624] **Gourds.** One of the most important everyday artifacts of the *Boruca* is the gourd which grows on the tree called either *guacal*, or *jicara*, depending on the shape of the fruit. This tree scientifically is known as *Crescentia Cujete* L., and the tree, as well as its fruit, in English, are all called "gourds." The *guacal* is round, while *jicaras* are oblong.

The gourds serve many purposes. They are, of course, used as drinking cups, for hold-

825 and drink and eat with the people. He was
773 always dressed as an old man, and none knew him on these visits. He came incognito so that he could find out what in truth was passing amongst his people. Although the Indians say that formerly the Hill was a gathering place for their secret tribal meetings, no Indians will go there today, even though there are supposedly wild cattle there, and cattle are economicaly very important to the *Boruca*. This cattle is held to be the property of "Tatica Cuazarn," and cannot be touched. The *Boruca* recount that one of them went to the Hill hunting, and saw a man bathing. He started to shoot the man, but his gun wouldn't go off. This man was, of course, "Tatica Cuazarn." Cuazarn has a son who is called Sankrao, and who lives in the mountains of Golfo Dulce.

778 North and west of Boruca, there are certain lagoons which the Indians do not like to pass, and never will go by them if they are accompanied by dogs. One of these lagoons is the "Laguna de Danta." Here, "Mamram" is supposed to dwell. "Mamram" in Boruca signifies witchery.

224 If one goes hunting, it is not good to say to him, "God be with you," because one will have bad luck.

756 **Sickness, Curing, and Shamanism.** Shamanism as such is not practised any longer amongst the *Boruca*. Formerly the *Boruca* had real shamans, whom they called *bruk-bri*, but they have long since disappeared. The power of the shaman, however, is still respected, and when a grave sickness appears, or a great misfortune affects the tribe or village, the *bruk-bri* is sent for from some of the *Talamanca* peoples, chiefly the *Cabécares*. These peoples call the shaman, *sukia*, and the one who travels to Boruca is known as the *cacique sukia*, the title being derived from the word for shaman and the widespread Costa Rican word for chieftain. The *cacique sukia* is held in deadly respect by the Indians. Chicha, as well as the most attractive girl in town are offered to him on his visits. When curing, the *sukia* stays outside behind the
● [755] house, all night, and smokes incessantly. He then enters and blows smoke on the patient. The *sukia* does not accept money, and only at times will take presents of a pig or food.

[p. 25-B]

Cabécares, its origin dates from before the birth of the world. At that time, *sibu* owned a staff which in a certain sense was his monitor. It is interesting to note that wooden staffs which are obviously ceremonial have been found in caches associated with the Highland archæology on the slopes of Irazú volcano (fig. 12, *a*).[144] They are a South American trait and are still used by medicine men among the Chocó of Colombia and by tribes in the Amazon basin. In Talamanca itself, chief and medicine man staffs were carved as late as the 19th century (fig. 12, *b*).[145] In Spanish, the medicine man's staff used today (fig. 11, *c*) is known as the *palo de cacique*, its red wood popularly believed to be *cacique* wood. There is a mystical connection between the medicine man and his staff which is supposed to carry his curing power as well as contact benevolent spirits who help him cure. In Bribri it is called *biʒəbLəkərkeLi*. This literally translated means: *biʒəbLə*, a term applied to the songs of the medicine man in the night; *kər* = for; *keLi* = staff. Only the medicine men know where to find this firm wood.[146]

There is still another wooden object used for curing when the patient is in the last stages of an illness and nothing else will work. This is a balsa log on which the medicine man carves with a knife, or makes rude drawings of, certain spirits called *miku* or *mikuʒké* (*see* Theological Beliefs): a crocodile, snakes, a monkey, a bird, and a skeleton in chains. The subjects seem to depend upon the sickness. Some are the medicine man's spirit helpers while some are malignant spirits who are thought to have caused the disease. This log is placed beside the ill person whose hand is held by the curer or the patient has to sit on it. A chant forms part of this ceremony.

Stones are another very special part of the equipment, the origin of which is also bound up in religious theology (*see* Sacred Songs). A medicine man may have any number of stones but there are two principal ones with a covering name which is sometimes mistaken by laymen as a third stone. This collective

[144] It resembles the one described by Gabb, 1875, p. 520.
[145] Staffs vary in length from three to six feet.

756 778 [172] [428] term is *sjá* or *sienkúrwa*. Individually, they are called *kúrwa* or *dikúrwa*; *sorkúrwa* or *sorkúsurwa*. They resemble small river stones and are sometimes found in pre-Columbian graves. Today, the stones are "given" or "appear" to the medicine man on special occasions, or are handed down as a sacred heirloom by a colleague who must also belong to the same clan. When a medicine man dies, if he does not wish to give his own stones to a young professional, his brother or clan keeps them until a new doctor has need of them.

[155] [224] Curing (*see* Curing) is impossible without these two stones although other ones are also used. Some are taken from the belly of a wild pig, tapir, deer, etc. These, besides being employed for curing, are used to call the particular animal when one hunts and it is for this reason the Indians say that medicine men never lack game.

[824] Leaves with white spots, called *aik* (*Aracea* sp.) in Bribri, also are part of the curing paraphernalia. The sap is caustic and the leaf is used more as an indication of magic power than for any other reason.

[844] Tobacco for smoking is essential during childbirth. Other articles which compose a medicine man's equipment and which were left by *sibu* to be utilized while curing include the [755] [237] shell or body of a small land turtle, *kué;* a lizard, *trook;* the eyeteeth of jaguars; the feathers of certain water fowl, macaws, quetzals, hawks, and other birds; animal skins; and shells of which three are of particular importance. These are *tsumanik* and *tsrikuo*, a rose and white clam shell; and *duk*, a conch shell.

756 **Training and Procedure.** Although there is no fixed time required for preparing to become a medicine man, it usually takes from two to six years, depending upon the capacity of the novice's memory. The first six months are intensive. The apprentice goes for three days without eating. He makes a lean-to in the woodland out of all the herbs he can gather, edible and non-edible, and stays there for two days so as not to see the sun. At night he can go outside. During this period, the medicine man appears and teaches the ritual songs. After two days and two nights the teacher and his pupil eat all the edible leaves or herbs of the hut.

The next task for the novice is to obtain

758 house. The *pejibaye* has the advantage of thorns to keep innocent children from straying into trouble, as no one except the medicine man is allowed to touch the ill. Water is kept within reach of the sick person by suspending it in a gourd from a long stick.

826 753 Lehmann[147] pointed out that the liver was considered the key to all emotions, sickness, and health. This is still true. The Cabécar phrase for happy or the state of good health signifies that the liver is in good condition. [774] Lehmann further adds that the activities of the soul are connected with this organ.[148] On the whole, many fevers are supposed to be caused by the liver. Among the Bribri, however, influenza is credited to *bák-namé* (*see* Myths).

164 The principal complaints noted among these peoples are caused by intestinal parasites with subsequent anemia; conjunctivitis, especially among the Bribri; *papalomollo* or Leishmaniosis; and malaria, particularly in Talamanca. Measles, mumps, and at times smallpox and yellow fever also take a heavy toll when they occur in epidemic form.

839 Among the Cabécares, there are numerous cases of male perversion. No social stigma is attached nor is any cure attempted.

278 **Curing.** Herbs, vines, quinine bark, and other medicines prepared from flowers and berries are used.

752 824 A medicine for snake bites is made from *Dracontium Pittieri* Engl. and also from *Aristolochia sylvicola* Standley, which is mashed and cooked. This is combined with the bark of a tree called *bek* in Cabécar and is used to cause sterilization. Diets, as has been noted, form a part of many cures although they are also observed at times of death by the *usegLa* clan. The principal ceremonial and magical elements included in curing are songs (prayers), always sung with the staff and the stones. One of the prayers the medicine men of Cabécar and some of the Bribri sing to combat sickness and to foretell if the patient will live or die is given under the heading of *Sacred Songs*. To rid one of the *wimbLu*, the medicine man sings for three nights and asks *sibu* (*see* Theological Beliefs) not to allow the spirit to scare any more.

757 755 533 [787]

[147] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.
[148] Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 282.

755 The stones are also consulted for curing and
787 for prophesying the result. When one of the
sią is confronted with a question concerning
[776] the life or death of a person it contacts *sibu*
who sends *duLør*, his messenger, with the
answer. *duLør* is very special, however. No
one, not even the greatest medicine man, has
ever seen him. He confers with the stone and
disappears when the doctor talks to it. Some
medicine men say that they have heard his
presence in the sense that in the dead of night,
when waiting for an answer, there is some-
times a sound as that of a small chick.

784 **Tabus.** *bukLú* is a bad spirit or spirits (*see*
[776] Theological Beliefs). It also denotes uncleanli-
ness and is analogous to tabu[149] in both
[783] Cabécar and Bribri and is of utmost impor-
tance. If one leaves his house alone it becomes
bukLú and if it is his bad luck to return ill,
then it is very dangerous. The only way to
remedy this among the Cabécar is to go all
around the house, touching it with a stick, and
then to do the same to everything inside. The
Bribri do this with their hand. The ceremony
is called *itiuk* (to wake up) in Bribri and
kɔiɔk (to frighten) in Cabécar.

[881] The first menstrual period is particularly
[841] *bukLú* (*see* Puberty) although no woman is
[845] ever free from tabu during this condition. A
[783] pregnant woman is supposedly possessed by
[752] this evil which requires a medicine man to cure
[825] or cleanse after birth. If by malfortune she
[779] should be bitten even by a harmless snake, the
bukLú in her compel her to die.
Vestiges of an elaborate totemic organiza-
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P.47(B)-Analyst]

173 **Recent History—Wars.** A fine line is drawn
926 between legend and actual history. Events are
reflected in both. In 1959, the medicine men
of the Cabécares still recount their version of
war with the Térrabas or Terribís which took
place at the beginning of the 19th century.[150]
The following is an Indian account of this
event.
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P.47(B)-Analyst]

[149] Gabb, 1875, p. 499; Pittier, 1938, pp. 21–22; Skinner, 1920, pp. 102–105.

[150] *See* Gabb, 1875, pp. 488–89. Although Gabb does not mention the Cabécares in this war, it should be

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.47(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabécar
Bribri
Terraba

784 825 [779] [224] tion are still evident in many tabus pertaining to animals. Among the Cabécares, all animals have a plant name which is used when a hunt is planned. One does not say that he is going to hunt a given creature. He announces that he is going to look for yuca or *tiquízque*, as the case might be. This is to deceive the protector or *dueño* of the animal so that the game will not be warned. Each sickness is associated with a distinct animal and is believed to be sent by *ditegLa*, lord of illness. The toad is associated with a sickness that causes pain in the stomach, loss of weight, coughing, and then death. The first women in the world had this illness. A medicine man passed the toad over them as a cure. It is bad to touch a toad. The *duriwak* clan of the Bribri cannot touch toads nor possums. In fact, the Buriers (*see* Death) are the only persons who can touch buzzards or possums. They are allowed to kill the latter. The *kor'wak* clan of the now extinct *ko[illegible]ebué* or Singers could not eat nor touch tapir because it was the reincarnation of their ancestors. The *sɨnɨtswa* and *múnúLɨwa* not only cannot eat this today, but the *múnúLɨwa* must even change their direction if they see tapir tracks. Bribri women and children can only eat this meat if it has first been smoked and then cooked by an old woman. Macaw meat is tabu to women and to men belonging to the Bribri clans of *duriwak*, *saLwak*, *kor'wak*, *kúmburwak*, *sulariwak*, *and ruLgikwak*. Before other men can consume it, macaw has to be prepared in a special pot and the partakers have to wash their hands.

753 825 [776] 784 825 614 262 [767] [775] 756 776

FOLKLORE

The War between the Cabécares and Terribís

(*Cabécar*)

173 726 *sibu* left *sibuLetá*, the green mountain, in Cabécar. It was the time when people wore only loincloths of *mastate*. Many Terribís (Térrabas) suddenly appeared to kill the

remembered that these people were under the dominance of the Bribri, and according to Cabécar tradition definitely took part and suffered in these raids as the version cited denotes.

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[P.63(B)] SA19 Talamanca SA19
Cabecar

Sickness

(*Cabécar*)

*539 753 [776] *Lorava* is the house of sickness and it is located under the spot where the sun rises. The lords or owners of sickness are known as the *aragopa* or *roaragopa*. They were the first people in the world, but *sibu* told them they would have to go below where the sun comes from as the people he would make would be sick if they stayed.

[756] [755] This is why the medicine men take a staff and say to sickness, "You have no right to be here as *sibu* gave you a place to stay. Go to your place." If the medicine man talks enough, sickness leaves as he realizes that *sibu* can send him away and he does not like this.

Clan Protectors

(*Cabécar*)

*539 614 [825] All protectors of clans come from where the sun rises. Formerly, each group and person in it had a figure of bone or stone or gold symbolizing this. The *usegLa* are protected by the jaguar and the crab. It was the crab who found water for them. He went to a dry place and dug halfway down. Water came up behind him.

The *tigibí* clan are a branch of the *usegLa* and have the same protectors. This group started when there were only men in the world. One day two men went to work and on their return found food prepared. They ate and liked it. This continued for thirty days. Then when they arrived home, they discovered twin girls. The men asked if they had fixed the food, and when the twins admitted that they were the ones, the men decided to live with them.

[776] The *sirakwa* are people who live under the earth. They protect the *túgwa*. For this reason, the *túgwa's* symbol is the figure of a person.

[824] The *guacal* or gourd tree has four branches and protects four groups. The first branch is symbolic of the *síbawak* clan to whom most of the Cabécar Singers belonged. This is why they used a gourd full of seeds to accompany their songs. The second branch of the tree belongs to the *bLeriwa*, the third to the *kibe-*

6:Stone E-5 (1956-1959)1962
[R-71(A)]
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri
*539
538

Sacred Songs

(18) SINGER'S SONG[209]

(*Bribri*)

Now we're going to bring the spirit (*itsó*) from where we hid him and when we arrive with him in the house, we'll sing.

(19) *dikúrwa*[210]

(*Bribri*)

[755] [787] This is a song used by medicine men to fight sickness. It is sung over the sacred stones and in particular over *dikúrwa*, to see if the patient will live or die. The meaning of the song is as follows:

In the beginning, *dikúrwa* was a bird and *sibu* sent for him when he felt ill and asked whether he would live or die. *dikúrwa* answered that *sibu* was only pretending because he would never die. *sibu* was so pleased with the reply that he left us *dikúrwa* as a stone for the medicine men to use when curing.

Lay Songs

(20) THE MONKEY DANCE[211]

(*Bribri*)

[535] This song receives its name from the fact that men and women dance it in a line and interlock their arms monkey fashion. The words have nothing to do with the monkey and are a mixture of ancient Térraba, Cabécar, and Bribri.

Freely translated the theme runs:
Water turtle, bad pool,
Someone passed me, dance, dance, dance.
There is the turtle; the turtle's pool;
The devil's pool; bad pool;
Someone passed me; shell pool;
Devil pool, dance; *kúsua* dance;
Beautiful horizon, valiant child.
Dance, dance, dance.

[756] [209] *See* Linguistic Texts: *biɜɔbLɔ-kɔk-keLi*. This is today the Medicine Man's song to his staff and takes its name from that of the staff.

[210] *See* Linguistic Texts: Sacred Songs: *dikúrwa*.

[211] *See* Linguistic Texts: *buLɔakuLe*.

[212] *See* Linguistic Texts: *duLeɔ; also* The Arts.

LINGUISTIC TEXTS

*539 2. "Oh Uncle," he asked, "Give me [something] to smoke." Tobacco came, tobacco for production for earth.

17. The Cuyeo (*Bribri*)

1. To cure for the first [time], then *sibu* became sick. Then *sibu* ordered the cuyeo called to cure him. Then *sibu* ordered the cuyeo to sing for the first [time].

2. The cuyeo went first to cure. Then he went to sing. Alone, he did not know if he would die. In the morning [of the following day *sibu*] asked him, "Will I die?"

3. The cuyeo answered, "Yes, you will die." Because of this *sibu* pressed the mouth of the cuyeo for lying.

Sacred Songs

18. The Staff of the Thinkers[291] (*Bribri*)

1. Now we are going [to hear it] sing.
We are going to bring *itsɸ* [from] where we went to hide him, to bring him again.

2. [When] we arrive again inside the house, then we are going to sing with *itsɸ*.

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2. "anaą," iuebškaLa,[292] "mą-ueša." duą-bitę, duą-ąLowa[293] iriria.[294]

17. šipo

1. ę tsą kųLę́isúk,[295] etą sibu kirínawą. étą sibutə šipo kié ébuaǫ́k[296] męLę. étą sibutə šipo patkęmį. ę tsą kųLę́itsúk.

2. šipo mią i-tsą kųLę́isúk. étą i-mią [illegible] emę kéwą iujchenę, tə[297] i-ruówami. huLame-tą sibutə ichake i-ątə, "bo-ruówąmi?"

3. šipo iątę, "tó bo-ruówąmi." ę kuęgį sibutə šipo jkə́ tuwą i-wəbLar kąchak.

18. biškəbLə-kər-keLi[298]

1. ęmatą somį uiųchó.
somį itsǫ́ tsǫ́k wę sarą́ ibLókwą,
ę itsųk męLę.

2. dé-męLę węlke,[299] étą samíketkę́ tsak itsǫ́ wə́ə.

[195] [756]

[291] "Thinkers" signifies "medicine men."
[292] Medicine man's term.
[293] The sense of this is that the tobacco was grown near where *sibu* was.
[294] This is a medicine man's term used in theological tales or songs. In lay tales or when talking *ikət* means "land" or "earth."
[295] This word is a combination of *kuLą* (to cure) and *itsǫ́k* or *itsǫ́t* (to sing). Singing is an important aspect of curing and the two words are often used as one to denote curing.
[296] This only means to cure.
[297] The lay word "to sing" is *tsǫ́t* or *tsak*.
[298] *to* here in front of *i* signifies "if."
[299] The Bribri consider this title as one word signifying the songs of the medicine man at night to his staff. The complete phrase is equivalent to "the staff of the medicine man."
[300] *a* is "house." This word means "within the house."

[195] [755] [533]

[756]

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

19. *dikáswa*[201] (*Bribri*)

1. To cure, to sing for the first [time]. *sibu* sent *dikáswa* for the first [time] to cure to sing. In the [following] morning, *sibu* asked *dikáswa*, "Will I die?"

2. *dikáswa* answered, "No you will not die. You pretend thus.[202] You will never die." (*Z*) Because of this *sibu* left *dikáswa* to cure us.

Lay Songs

20. Song for the Dance of the Monkey (*Bribri*)

1. See Linguistic Text.

2. Turtle, turtle pool, turtle pool, devil pool, bad pool,
Someone passed me.
Dance [of *káswa*], dance [of *káswa*].

3. *See* Linguistic Text.

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19. dikáswa

1. ʈsɨ́ kɨLɛ́[203] i-tsúk. sibu-tə dikáswa[204] patkɛ̨mj ʈsɨ́ kɨLɛ́-i-tsúk. buLáme-tɨ, sibu-tə dikáswa ichakɛ, "šu-ruówami?"

2. dikáswa-tə iɨtɨ́, "kɛ́ bu-ruškwa. be-ɛ̨ə emɛ̨. kɛ́ be-ruškwɨ́ ɨ̨ɨtɛ̨.[205] (*Z*) é-kuegj sibu-tə dikáswa[206] meɨt-sɛ́ buɨ́nmeLɛ.

20. buLtakuLɛ[207]

1. kuagga[208] kuagɛ́ jaaguange[209] kuanjé jaagagag.
kuanjé eguange kuanjé.

2. ta-kuɛ̨[210] kuen-dí,[211] ta-kuen-dí, Lɑn[212]-dí,
ta-seLeLa seLeri,
ta-dee-donchi.
jɛ́[213]-iberke ikuteɨ́, jɛ́-iberke jɛ̨́n.

3. kuanjejeɛ́[214] jekua jéeé.

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[755] [552] [778] [197] [172]

[201] This is the medicine man's song against sickness.
[202] I.e., that you are sick.
[203] *kɨLɛ́* means to sing *and* to cure with a stone. All curing songs use *kɨLɛ́*.
[204] Although this is the sacred stone's name, here it applies to a bird. In the beginning, the bird was the messenger to *sibu* and then became the stone. This should not be confused with the crayon.
[205] This also means "nothing."
[206] The connotation is that the bird, *dikáswa*, has been changed to the stone, *dikáswa*.
[207] The language is a mixture of ancient Térraba, Cabécar, and some Bribri. It is sung as men and women dance in a line.
[208] Words in section 1 could not be translated and are said to be ancient Térraba.
[209] This is the name of an abandoned Bribri site in Talamanca.
[210] *ta-* is used as a prefix only for the sound.
[211] These three words together signify a pool with a turtle.
[212] *See* Theological Beliefs.
[213] *jɛ́* and *jɛ́n* are for sound only. The word combination signifies the dance of *káswa*.
[214] These sounds signify adornments.